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ARE THE BOERS HOSTILE TO MISSION WORK?

AN ADDRESS

GIVEN AT

ZWOLLE (HOLLAND),

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TO THE

Ministers' Missionary Association of the
Provinces of Overijssel and Drente,

BY

REV. C. SPOELSTRA,

Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Heino.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DR. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A.

IN the interests of truth and brotherhood, this pamphlet deserves a wide distribution. It is a brief sketch of the work of the Boers in the propagation of the Gospel amongst the people of their own race, and also amongst the native populations of South Africa.

Its values are many.

First of all, it exhibits the spirit and work of the Boers as missionaries, from their own point of view. It has the merit of personal testimony; and fair-minded people will be anxious to hear and consider that witness before giving their verdict upon the subject in dispute.

Secondly, it explains the opposition which the Boers have presented to some missionary organisations, and shows that it has been primarily due, not to antagonism to coloured people, but to, what I regard as, an exaggerated faith in a rigorous orthodoxy, a blind dread of departure from the accepted ecclesiastical standards of belief on the part of some of the missionaries. This is so common a phenomenon that it can hardly excite surprise that the Boers should share in exhibiting it.

Further, some of the misgivings of the Boers to certain missionary operations is traced to what they regarded as social indiscretions on the part of the missionary; and one has only to recall the present attitude of the people of South Carolina and other Southern States, towards the practical recognition of social equality of coloured men and women, to understand this.

Nor is it to be doubted, that the Boer has been afraid that the inculcation of the fundamental principle of Christianity in

reference to human brotherhood must lead to ecclesiastical, political, and social equality, and, therefore, he has not adopted it, nor cordially welcomed those who preached it. But here, again, we had better ask, not what is the theory we praise, but what is the practice we pursue, before we fling stones at the Boer.

Remembering the influence of these limitations, we shall find from the following statement, that the Boers have not only loyally accepted the great missionary ideal, but have sought, and are seeking to actualise it, with a persistence, self-sacrifice, generosity, and devotion that ought to inspire thankfulness and admiration.

And although this pamphlet does not supply the contents of the most recent Reports of South African Missionary work, it is most cheering to discover, that where the Missions have been wrecked by the war, and the missionaries and their wives and children subjected to the most heart-rending privations and cruelties, they have borne themselves with such serene patience and Christian fortitude as to vindicate for themselves a high place amongst the Confessors and Martyrs of the Gospel of Christ.

JOHN CLIFFORD.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING been deeply interested in the account of Boer and other Dutch Missions in South Africa, contained in the following pamphlet—which, as its title shows, is an address to a missionary gathering in Holland by the Rev. C. Spoelstra, an expert in his subject—I gladly acceded to the request to translate it for the information of English readers. Rev. C. Spoelstra has resided at Pretoria as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and has also lived at Cape Town and Stellenbosch, thus having gained practical knowledge of the Dutch Churches in South Africa, in addition to original study on the subject from official records in South Africa and Holland.

To the translator, the reading of the details has been very touching: since the recollection has been constantly present of the havoc wrought with this and other good work by the present terrible war.

For scarcely a different reason, the introductory part of Rev. C. Spoelstra's address has also been sad reading: since constant witness is there borne, consciously and unconsciously, to a want of mutual understanding between earnest workers of the two races, Dutch and English, in South Africa.

And the saddest part of all is to remember how large a share in this want of comprehension is to be laid at our own door.

For some of the acts of missionaries in past times, specified by Rev. C. Spoelstra, no words of censure can well be too strong. But those who know our English missionary societies *from within*, will in no way be willing to fix the censure on whole associations—such, perhaps, as even within the last few months have added new names to the “noble army of martyrs.”* Does not the evil lie in a wrong spirit, which, without the greatest watchfulness, may permeate even the most sacred institutions—a spirit showing itself in pharisaic severity of judgment, and lack of that sympathy which is an essential part of Christian love?

How far we, the English nation, have been from purging ourselves of such an evil spirit, the present war may testify, with all its accompaniments of false statement and un-Christian passion.

It is in the hope of making some small contribution towards a better understanding here, both of the Boers and of the South African Dutch in general—or, at least, of helping towards the removal of misunderstandings—that I have attempted the humble task of translating the following pages. It is my earnest desire and prayer that the Lord of the Heavenly City into which the “glory and honour of the nations” is one day to be brought, may grant to the effort some measure of His blessing.

THE TRANSLATOR.

* As the London Missionary Society has lately done; in China, and especially New Guinea, where two missionaries, Rev. J. Chalmers and his companion, have laid down their lives.

ARE THE BOERS HOSTILE TO MISSIONS?

I CANNOT be thankful enough for permission to speak to you about the Boers and their relation to missions. You will easily understand that a minister who has had the privilege of living and working for some time among them, is glad to seize every opportunity of awakening sympathy for them.

You have heard and read much that is unfavourable with regard to their attitude towards the Kaffirs in general, and particularly towards missions; so that in respect to these matters, you distinctly stand opposed to them.

But is it needful, in these days, to remind you that one cannot rely absolutely on all one hears, or take for Gospel all that is found in the papers? that on the contrary, it is needful to exercise the sharpest criticism, even with regard to missionary statistics?

So much must now be clear even to the most simple-minded and credulous; that this terrible war against the Boers was preceded and followed by a flood of mis-statements and slanders; that nothing has been too base, nor too revolting, to lay to the charge of the Boers; that Cecil Rhodes, and following him, the whole Chartered clique, have used, and still use, a portion of their enormous fortunes, won in Africa, in buying up daily and weekly papers and magazines representing all shades of opinion, so as to be able to direct public opinion against the Boers—that even Reuter's telegrams are not to be trusted, and the English Censor is so well acquainted with the art of turning a statement into its exact opposite that the proverb-making community can find nothing more severe to say of a man who is hopelessly in conflict with the truth than this: "He is as false as an English telegram."

On one side, the Boers are exalted to heaven; on the other they are cast down to hell. For some people they represent everything great, religious, and noble; for others, they are a compendium of all imaginable evil. In the meantime, so much is certain; the English people—the Christians of England—have been so long, and so systematically misled, that they—reading no language but English—hear hardly anything but what tells against the Boers; and when we read statements made by English Christians, which are entirely opposed to the truth, we can only pray, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Among the accusations which are flung at the Boers, we find one perpetually recurring: that they are cruel and merciless to the coloured people, and enemies of missions.

The talented editor of the "Netherlands Missionary Magazine" gave

us, last year, a selection of English opinions on this point. The most contemptible of these expressions was that of Andrew Douglas: "When the holy war, which we are waging against the Boers, has brought about their inevitable fall, the triumph of the missionary cause will have been secured."

You must not think that such things are said now for the first time, and that such outbursts are only to be explained by the fact that war necessarily lets loose the basest passions. No; read, for example, what the well-known Warneck writes,* after having alluded to the obstinate struggle between the Dutch and English elements:

"Dieser Gegensatz hindert aber nicht, dasz holländische und englische Kolonisten, die sich gemeinsam als Afrikaner bezeichnen, *in der Politik der Unterdrückung der Eingeborenen einig sind*. Diese Politik ist so alt wie die Südafrikanische Kolonisation und bildet auch eine dunkle Partie in der Geschichte der Kolonialpolitik, *die, wohin wir auch kommen, an blutigen und schmutzigen Blättern so reich ist*."

Elsewhere, too, Warneck is very severe against the white colonists. Now this leading authority on missionary history is, like the rest, a fallible man; and in reading his books, we must apply the principle of hearing the other side. If I am not mistaken, the opinion of Warneck is founded in part on what he has received from English sources.

But the passage just quoted is nothing in comparison with what you find in the well-known work of Dietel, which contains more slanders against the Boers than it has pages.†

These few observations will, for the present, be enough to convince you that English haters of the Boers have done all they can, first to mislead public opinion, and then to falsify history, with the inevitable result that many Christians of other nationalities, and even men of learning and high reputation, have been led astray. On all who love the truth, there rests the sacred duty of making the real facts known.

On the political side, by united efforts, shortly before and during this war, very much has already been done for the refutation of English calumnies. All who are fairly well acquainted with contemporary literature on South Africa, now know that in order rightly to understand the question of the war between England and the Boer Republics, we must go back into past history, to the beginning of the nineteenth century. There we shall find that we are now reading only one chapter of the history of the hundred years' struggle between the Anglo-Saxon and the Dutch elements: a "century of wrong."

Now, to explain "the antipathy of the Boers to missions"—say, rather, a certain sort of missions—it is decidedly necessary to begin with the year 1799, when the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society landed in South Africa.

The first question which must be answered is this: What was the origin of the associations which sent out missionaries to South Africa?

* In his celebrated work, "Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen," Berlin, 1899.

† *Missionsstunden* von R. W. Dietel. Viertes Heft: *Süd-Afrika*. Dritte Aufl. Leipzig, 1899.

the second, What were the principles of these associations and of the missionaries whom they sent out? The third, Was it to be expected that these novelties would encounter opposition merely as such, or did they run counter to all the beliefs and principles of the Boers?

It can do no harm, especially for those who are enthusiastic about missionary associations, to examine how, that is, from what kind of motives and principles these associations arose. I must be permitted here to quote from Dr. Kuyper's masterly article, "The South African Crisis."[‡]

"The Liberalism of the end of last (the eighteenth) century, dissatisfied with the moral, social, and political conditions of humanity in those days, fancied that it must seek its ideal, not in civilised man, but in man in his natural state, whose simple roving life was described in an idyllic way. Robinson Crusoe's Friday was the hero of conversation, and all oppression of savages over the sea appeared as high treason against humanity. Everyone, therefore, came forward as a protector or benefactor of the native: the Deists on political ground with their Aborigines' Protection Societies, and the Christians with their missionary societies. The possession of the Cape afforded the first favourable opportunity of realising these ideals. The Hottentot was just the child of nature whom they honoured; and, therefore, the Boer, who held this child of nature in slavery, appeared to them as the sworn enemy of the human race."

So far the Amsterdam Professor. Now even if we maintain that the religious people of those days were led by higher motives than these, in the establishment of their missionary associations, we must still admit that the missionaries, as well as those who sent them out, were too much the children of their time to escape the influence of the sentimental humanitarianism which then exercised so immense an influence. As a proof of this, when the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society came into Africa, they brought the theory, not, observe, that the best of the natives, after conversion to Christianity, might perhaps be admitted, after a long interval, and under proper precautions, to something like the same position in which white Christians stood, but that, just as they were, they were actually the equals of the whites, both spiritually and socially. This assertion of equality between barbarians and civilised people, and the demand that it should be recognised, soon brought them into conflict with the colonists.*

But there was more than this. Higher interests still were at stake. You remember that when our Netherlands Missionary Association was formed it did not receive unmixed sympathy here at home, but also opposition founded on principle.[†] At the meeting of the South Holland Synod, held at Schoonhoven in 1801, a resolution was pro-

[‡] From the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Translated by Mr. A. E. Fletcher (formerly of the *New Age*).

* George McCall Theal: "History of South Africa."

[†] See the official records of the Old Dutch Missions: I, 216, 218, II, 92, 93, etc., 122, etc. Further, see the 2nd edition of "The Gospel in our Eastern Possessions," by H. Dijkstra, Part I. Leiden, 1900; p. 141, etc., where the standpoint of the above-named association, and its relations with the Church are set forth.

posed, "that no missionaries should be sent out to any country without first passing a strict examination in theology, subscribing the formula of unity of belief, and receiving regular ordination; and that above all no one should be sent as a minister unless he had been carefully examined by his 'Classis,' † both in the languages and in theology, *that our pure Reformed doctrine may not be in danger of falsification.*" Further, it was resolved, "To declare that no private association of members of the Reformed Church, and still less any association of ministers, shall take upon itself, contrary to our Church order, to qualify and ordain anyone to conduct public worship in Church, still less for the administration of the Sacraments, unless a regularly appointed Church assembly shall have judged him fit, and sanctioned his appointment."

We feel that from the standpoint of the Reformed Church, the qualifications of a missionary must be so judged. And is it to be wondered at, that the Boers in South Africa, whose attachment to the Reformed Church must be considered admirable, and who certainly did not hold fast to its principles as a matter of tradition only, could see nothing in the missionaries but unauthorised and heterodox teachers? Everyone who studies the first period of missionary work in South Africa, who observes with an unprejudiced mind the simultaneous rise of the London and of the Netherland Missionary Societies, will understand the conscientious objections of the Boers. Perhaps the considerations mentioned above may throw some light on the fact that the work of our own association was not a success, and that as early as 1819 it was felt that Africa must be won for Christ by Afrikanders. §

We are reminded by the name of Dr. Van der Kemp, that the pure Reformed teaching was indeed in some danger of being corrupted. His earlier theologico-philosophical opinions were well enough known from his writings.* And that even after his conversion, the Doctor's theology, from the Reformed standpoint, was more to be feared than praised, is shown by the pertinent question put by the Amersfoort Classis † at the Provincial Synod at Utrecht, in 1800:

"We desire to be informed, before deciding anything as to the request of the Missionary Association, whether that Association accepts the opinions of Mr. Van der Kemp, set forth in his 'Theodicé van Paulus,' and commended by Professor Krom, in his long preface, as opinions which can, and may be, freely taught by its missionaries; or whether, on the other hand, it rejects those opinions as conflicting with the received teaching of our Reformed Church, and promises to see to it, that such opinions are never taught nor disseminated by its missionaries, since otherwise the Synod would be compelled to keep the strictest watch against the introduction and propagation of such opinions."

What do you think of this? How is the opposition of the Boers

† See footnote to p. 28 on the word "Classis."

§ See Dr. E. F. Kruijf's "History of the Netherland Missionary Society."

* Tentamen Theologiæ Dunatoscopiæ, Lugd. Bat. 1775; Parmenides, Edinburgh, 1781.

to Dr. Van der Kemp to be explained? By enmity to mission work? or by watchfulness, lest he and his companions should spread false teaching?

In other respects also, some missionaries greatly scandalised the Boers. First, Read showed his love for the children of Nature by marrying a Hottentot girl; and afterwards, late in life, Van der Kemp himself chose the very young daughter of a slave woman for his wife. These events caused a shudder of abhorrence among the Boers, who, to the present day, feel the utmost shrinking from such a union. The judgment of Paul Kruger's biographer (Van Oordt) is undoubtedly too severe when he says that Van der Kemp "lived such a life that no Boer could respect him." But those who wish to judge fairly of Van der Kemp must read something more than what his relative, Dr. D. C. Van der Kemp, tells us, and what later writers have borrowed from this source. For in this way we see one side only, that which Van der Kemp and his friends show us. It is quite necessary, for fuller and clearer information, sometimes for a definite refutation of a statement, to study such information about him as is contained in the Cape archives. Two historians of note render us good service here. The first is Theal, in the third volume of his great work. The second is Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt, who, in his work on *Slagtersnek*, has brought together a vast mass of official documents, from the Cape archives, collected by him in his capacity as historian of the South African Republic, and has combined them into an artistic whole. Now, this learned writer makes the following notable observations on Van der Kemp:—

"In Van der Kemp, the Christian missionary, there could not but remain so much of Van der Kemp, the Deist, as was consistent with his conversion. Deists, to whom sentiment was all-important, during Van der Kemp's early life, were attracted especially by Rousseau; and although the doctrine of the natural goodness of human nature, placed by Rousseau in antagonism to that of original sin, could no longer be accepted by Van der Kemp after his conversion (when speaking with the doctor of a military hospital in the neighbourhood, on the health of the women of Bethelsdorp, we find him fully admitting their sinful propensities), yet his Christian belief did not prevent him from holding the view that men in their natural state are less spoiled, and better prepared for conversion, than worldly-minded members of civilised society. That this was the tendency of his thought is evident, from the pictures he draws of human, or, if you will, of Christian liberty." The writer (Van Oordt) proceeds to state that the disorderly condition of Bethelsdorp contrasted very unfavourably with the good results of the Moravian Mission. In other directions, too, Van der Kemp consciously, or unconsciously, united Christian ideals with those of the eighteenth century, the fruit of which was the Revolution. Opposition to those in authority, idleness, poverty, slovenly habits, and false witnessing are observable in this circle. Yes, the missionaries of Bethelsdorp permitted themselves to publish the idle talk of Kaffirs in the organ of the London Missionary Society, and aroused the British public against the Boers. "They appealed," says our writer, "not to a

lawful authority, but to public opinion among a people notorious for their self-righteousness and their prejudices; and thus sowed, deliberately and consciously, an evil seed, which even now, after so many years, does not fail to produce a luxuriant harvest. But could anything better be expected of those who sought to gain entrance for the ideas of Rousseau, under the guise of spreading Christianity? which Van der Kemp did with full consciousness, Read being too uninstructed to do anything but copy his leader. They were, indeed, in their relations with coloured women, one-minded with Rousseau; he, too, lived with a very low woman, whose children he placed out as foundlings, thinking it too expensive to bring them up."

The venerable Dr. Van Oordt, in my opinion, goes too far in his quite comprehensible indignation; but he is too great a historian to make any statement for which he cannot vouch.

So much is clear, and for our present purpose, it is sufficient that the missionaries of the Bethelsdorp establishment have contributed not a little to the distortion of historical facts, and to the creation of a mistaken public opinion with regard to the Boers. We know that these missionaries are to blame for the careless acceptance, and the publication, without further enquiry, of all sorts of stories told by slaves and Hottentots, in which the Boers were accused of the most shocking ill-treatment, and even the murder of coloured people. The Government ordered an enquiry, in the course of which more than a thousand witnesses were heard. The whole country was in an uproar, and of all the frightful accusations, only a single one was true.* The judges acquitted the Boers. The acquittal was duly recorded. To the present day, this incontestable evidence has been preserved in the archives of the criminal courts. No historian worthy of the name can any longer borrow anything to the disadvantage of the Boers from the Bethelsdorp legends. But the slanders have done their terrible work; and now at the distance of a century, many of them are still believed. Hate and bitter feeling have thus been sown in thousands of hearts. Antipathy to missions and revolt of feeling against such missionaries was the inevitable consequence of these proceedings. And it would not have been surprising if for the future the Boers had refused to have the slightest connection with any missionary whatever.

For their most cherished feelings and convictions had been wounded. The London missionaries belonged to the race which had filched from the Boers their national freedom, their language, their possessions. The Government, in its policy, trampled on the rights of the white people, wherever they undertook to defend those of the natives. On the social side, the views of the missionaries stood for a complete overturning of Afrikaner society. Above all, the moral consequences would be of the most fatal. According to the conceptions of the Boers, the coloured people belonged to a lower race, and could not be placed on an equal footing with the whites, either in

* Dr. Theal ("History of the Boers in South Africa," p. 68) says "*in every instance* the most serious charges were found to be without foundation."
—Translator.

domestic, political, or Church life.* The moment that the white population permitted the lines drawn by the Creator to be obliterated, serious mischief would follow, and the coloured and white races alike would become degraded. A flood of immorality would carry everything before it. And for the sake of their children,† for the sake of the temporal and eternal welfare of both coloured and white, the policy of these missionaries must, it was felt, be opposed.

The fiercest enemy of the Boers did not, however, appear on the scene till a later time. Dr. Van der Kemp was greatly overshadowed by the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, Rev. John Philip, D.D., who came into South Africa in the beginning of 1819, when 44 years of age. This missionary cherished the most unconquerable conviction that the coloured people must in all respects be made equal to the whites, and he maintained that they were then treated in the most shameful and cruel way, both by the white population and by the Government. The Bethelsdorp legends now appeared again in a new and enlarged edition, in Dr. Philip's sensational book, "Researches in South Africa." In this book the Boers were charged with the most shameful acts, and the Cape Government, too, fared very badly at Dr. Philip's hands. After a residence of scarcely ten years, this genius in State affairs felt himself entirely competent to judge of "*the civil, moral, and religious condition of the native tribes*," he knew with perfect familiarity the relations between the white and the coloured races, and could give private lessons to the Governments, both at the Cape and in England, in the drafting of laws for the regulation of a new social condition. He went personally to England to advocate his principles. And what were the consequences? Dr. Theal shall inform us:—

"The most monstrous stories about the colonists were set afloat by men who bore the name of Christian teachers—and nothing was too wild to be believed in England—*so that at last the word Boer came to be regarded as only another name for an ignorant and cruel oppressor of natives*. It was to no purpose that governors drew up reports in a contrary sense, and that the courts of justice declared the statements to be false; the great societies condemned the Boers, and the great societies represented and led public opinion in England."

Dr. Philip succeeded in getting an order despatched, that the Hottentots and other free coloured people should be placed in all respects on the same political footing with Europeans. Thus a violent

* Many of us will feel that such an estimate of the natives of South Africa is unsatisfactory if regarded as final. It appears, however, to be practically held by the majority of South Africans, British and Dutch alike, and among others, by experienced and responsible officials. So widespread a view is not to be met by the violent assertion of the contrary, especially when associated with injustice towards one section of the white population. The relation of coloured and white in South Africa, as elsewhere, is a most difficult practical problem, needing for its solution the most careful study, and all the best resources of Christianity, including an unwearied and many-sided patience as well as love.—Translator.

† Those who know something of the difficulties of bringing up "Indian children" will understand what is meant here.—Translator.

revolution was brought about in South African society, and codified as a law! Dr. Philip, on his return to the Cape, was indeed prosecuted for libel, and found guilty; his book was pronounced by the judges to be a false and malicious libel; but his friends in England bore the costs, and the Boers paid the piper. For the colony was overrun by troops of idle vagabonds, without means of support, who threatened the whole social fabric by thefts, robbery with violence, and similar crimes.

After all these troubles came the abolition of slavery, in 1834. It was accomplished without suitable regulations, roughly and suddenly; and was in fact equivalent to "the confiscation of property to the value of 24 million guildens (£2,000,000 sterling), which belonged to a small and not wealthy community," and by which many Boer families were reduced to beggary. And to complete the work of ruin, the Boers in the eastern districts were abandoned to the mercy of invading hordes of Kaffirs, against whose acts of plunder and murder they were not even allowed to defend themselves. "In a few years' time," says Lion Cachet, "about 500 dwellings were burned, 300 farms laid waste, 60 waggons, and 300,000 head of cattle carried off, the loss being at least 3½ million guildens, of that day, or about 10 million, according to the present value of money."* And then to be put in the wrong by the Government with regard to these Kaffirs—and all this chiefly through the malicious influence of Dr. Philip and the "Philippians," as the Boers called his adherents. No, that was too much! that was no longer endurable! The equalising of white and coloured worked out in practice as oppression, hardship, humiliation, and insult for the whites (just as Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity at the time of the French Revolution could only be secured by the guillotine, and "equal rights for all" comes practically in our days to the abolition of classes, justice for the fourth estate alone, and oppression and humiliation for all who stand above it).

What has been advanced here is enough, for the present, to explain why the Boers could not recognise in Dr. Philip a minister of the Gospel or even a Christian. And if it seems astonishing that Christian missionaries should act in the way I have described, and thus set back missionary work for a century, and bring indescribable misery on their white fellow Christians, we have to remember what Christian England has dared to do in our days, and consider the forcible words of Dr. Kuyper, who sees at work, as one of the active causes of the present war in South Africa, "that same Methodism of Dr. Philip which was the occasion of the Great Trek in 1835, which afterwards, at the end of a whole century of failure, reaches its object in Chamberlain's Imperialism, and which covers the sharp practice, as well as the greed, of the Chartered Company, with the name of Christ."

After all that has been stated above, it cannot be matter of surprise that on the 6th of June, 1837, when the first General Assembly of the Boer people was held at Winburg, along with the resolution that *slavery should not be permitted*, the following was also passed:—

"Every member of the community shall bind himself by an oath to have no dealings nor connection with the London Missionary Society."

* "De Worstelstrijd der Transvalers": Amsterdam and Pretoria.

Now, when, with me, you lay the emphasis on the word "London," you have the answer to the question whether the Boers are hostile to mission work. The answer is, not hostile to mission work in general, but to that kind of "mission" of which Dr. Philip and others were the representatives, in which they could not be considered servants of God, but only the exponents of a mischievous policy.

That the Boers were no enemies of missions is shown by their past.

The situation in the time of the East India Company* is described in the work of A. Nachtigal: "De Oudere Zending in Zuid-Afrika" (The Older Mission Work in South Africa). This description of the older mission work, a useful book in many respects, shows us clearly that South Africa need not be ashamed to enter into comparison in this respect with other countries. The judgment of this writer would, however, have been more favourable, and many facts which he relates would be seen in another light, if he had measured things not by his own standard, but by that of the fathers of the Reformed Church. It seems to me that in studying the information given us on the extension of the Kingdom of God, during the period of the East India Company, the following considerations must be taken into account:—

(1) That no general estimate can be made from single occurrences which stand alone.

(2) That the East India Company was not always responsible for the faults of its servants.

(3) That the Dutch people were not synonymous with the East India Company, and thus cannot be made answerable for the misdeeds of that Company.

(4) That the Dutch Reformed Churches in the East Indies, as well as in South Africa, were not responsible for a number of erroneous doctrines, forced on them by their latitudinarian Remonstrant rulers.

(5) That for our Reformed forefathers, the spreading of the Kingdom of God meant the planting of their churches (Dutch Reformed) even in heathen countries; therefore, we do them great injustice if, in considering their work in this direction—so admirable in many ways, and of which the old Synodal archives and those of the Amsterdam Classis speak so favourably—we leave out of account all which relates to the Church work, and only mention the relatively small remainder of what we understand as missionary work. The "missionary work" of our fathers is but one chapter of Church History, and cannot be considered apart from the rest. He who forgets this is likely to work in ignorance, with the mistaken idea in his mind that mission work began with the nineteenth century. And I am sorry to have to say that Warneck's estimate, especially of the period of the East India Company, seems in this respect an unfounded one.

I may be forgiven for this little digression; with regard to South Africa, it is of some importance, too, because, as has been

* Readers of Theal will remember that the Dutch East India Company ruled at the Cape from 1652 to 1795.—Translator.

† Warneck: *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 28; II, 27. *Abriss*, etc. S. S. 39 f. 65, 289.

said, the work of Mr. Nachtigal, though in many respects to be recommended, yet offers material only for one chapter of a future history of the Dutch Reformed Church. Further, I may be permitted here briefly to remind you how, at first, Dr. Van der Kemp and others met with the strongest evidences of sympathy from many Afrikaners; how a letter from the London Missionary Society to the Christians of Cape Colony was read from the pulpit by three ministers of Cape Town—Serrurier, Fleck, and Von Manger, and by Dr. Vos at Roodezand; how, by the liberal contributions of many friends of missions (a certain widow alone put down her name for 15,000 guildens), it became possible, on the 21st April, 1799, to found the "South African Society for the furtherance and extension of the Kingdom of Christ"; while, at the same time, at the beginning of the 19th century, other associations were founded in connection with this Society, or independent, among the members of the Reformed Church in Cape Town, Tulbagh, Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Worcester, with the object of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen, the most distinguished of these being the Paarl Association, founded in 1822; how the breach with the London Society arose, and how it was rendered more decisive by the circumstances related above; but how (for example) the missionary Kicherer* enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Boers, so that he was repeatedly called to take the position of minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, having been settled in that capacity at Graaff-Reijnet, in 1806. He laboured there with much blessing until 1814, when he went to Tulbagh, and worked there until 1825. Similar instances were those of J. Evans, at Cradock, in 1818; J. Taylor, at Beaufort in 1818; and Dr. George Thom, at Tulbagh, in 1818; from which cases it is evident that the Boers had no dislike to missionaries, if only they were known to be tactful, reliable men, who did not permit themselves to be used as political agents, and whose only object was to preach Christ and Him crucified as the only Saviour of coloured and white alike; how what has already been said is confirmed by the example of M. Pacalt, who founded a missionary station near the village of George, and who was revered as a saint for his blameless life, both by the coloured people and the white; while Moravian, Wesleyan, Scotch, German, and French missionaries, who arrived later, were for the most part on the best of terms with the colonists; how there was a special Church for slaves* at Cape Town, which Church is still standing, and in which I have myself preached to coloured people more than once; and in Stellenbosch, too, especially by Mr. J. N. Desch, in 1798 and 1799, services were held for coloured people, while with regard to the minister Borchers—who came to South Africa in 1785, as minister of the Church in Cape Town, and was appointed in 1786 to that at Stellenbosch, where he died as emeritus-preacher in 1831—his son tells us in his memoirs, that slaves were ad-

* Who, as well as M. Pacalt, belonged to the London Missionary Society.
—Translator.

* We must remember that in some of these details, the writer is going back fully a century.—Translator.

mitted to the services conducted by his father. He says: "*They were admitted also in church, and some regularly attended service. The coloured people had their seats apart from the rest of the congregation, and alongside of the pulpit,*" which would seem to point to an established custom, in Stellenbosch, as well as in other Churches. We must also remember how many instances there were of the love of the Boers for mission work; while by far the greater number of heads of households called in their servants to family worship; a good practice, which elderly people in South Africa remember to have been very generally followed in their early days. And as regards the treatment of slaves and other coloured people, you will certainly have read in the literature of the day so much in refutation of English slanders, that I may consider myself relieved from the necessity of proving here that the Boers are in this respect also better than they have been described.

That they were not hostile to mission work is shown also by their generous attitude towards American missionaries when they saved them from the anger of the cruel Moselekatse, and cared for them in their camp on the Sand River, until they could safely return to Natal. Above all their friendly disposition is proved by the fact that the venerable Lindley worked among the Boers a long time (until 1847), with the approbation of his society, during which time he made long journeys among them, and in company with them, preached the Gospel, and administered the Sacrament, so that he did incalculable service among the members of the Dutch Reformed Church. This Lindley was the spiritual father of Paul Kruger, and still the venerable President speaks with great warmth about his early days, when the word of this "missionary" was blessed to his soul. Indeed, so greatly was the faithful Lindley beloved by the Boers, that a certain village was named after him.

Further, through the grand; wonderful Trek, the Boers became the pioneers of civilisation and Christianity. In regions where uncertainty and danger had prevailed, through the strife of mutually destroying tribes, they founded three* free Republics; and even if they had done nothing more than this, their services to missionary work would have been invaluable. If we cannot say that our forefathers did nothing for mission work, when they planted colonies and founded churches there, still less can we say that the Boers did nothing for missions, when they prepared the way for missionaries, and made the peaceful development of mission work possible!

By the light of history, many of the actions of the Boers, which appeared inexplicable for a long time, become quite clear, and on almost every point they are shown to have been in the right.

In the first place, are not English missions often made use of in the interests of English politics? The missionary authority *par excellence*,

* We must not forget that the Colony of Natal was founded by the Dutch, only to be taken possession of afterwards by our Government.—Translator.

Warneck, admits that however ill-deserved may be the reproach that English missionaries are *nothing* but political agents, the fact can hardly be ignored that England often uses missions to prepare the way for a policy of annexation, and mentions as examples, *South Africa*, *New Zealand*, and *Witi*. He earnestly pleads with missionaries to give no encouragement to this greed of territory, since it brings most disastrous consequences with it—even did these end with the very comprehensible repugnance awakened in the minds of those peoples who perceive that it is not they that are sought, but theirs.

Now, doubtless you, too, have been much struck by the following passage in Dr. Kuyper's article, quoted above:—

"It is being more and more attempted to identify the British Empire with the Kingdom of God, and even to make Christ an English possession. 'God has founded and expanded the British Empire,' says an English paper,* 'and has spread Christianity with it. The true Imperialism sees in every accession of territory, an extension of the noble task of proclaiming the Gospel of the Christ of England'."

Is not this revolting? and do you not find it easy to understand that the Boers would have nothing to do with English missionaries acting in this spirit?

Another question. Were not the Boers right when they set themselves against the methods of English missionaries? Those who have studied the subject do so everywhere. Read what the missionary Pennings writes, in the Netherlands *Zendingsbode* (Missionary Messenger), 29th September, 1899, about the strange proceedings of English missionaries in Egypt, on which the editor thus comments: "From what has been communicated above, we may clearly see at least that such English and American modes of preaching the Gospel in Egypt are not the best, and not to be recommended to us in our East Indian Archipelago."

Further, I must remind you of what Dr. L. Heldring wrote on Home Mission work in Jerusalem and Palestine:—

"Gobat took very serious exception to the method hitherto followed by English missionaries, and he, therefore, initiated another method than that which had so far been followed. It seemed to him that too little account was taken of the necessity for full conversion, and a real sense of sin. Again and again bitter disappointment was experienced from those who were supposed to have been converted to Christianity—a conversion which had been made so easy that the Jews regarded baptism as merely a means of access to the loaves and fishes provided by the missionaries. The clear sight of Gobat perceived the danger that many would go over to Christianity for the sake of material advantages. He, therefore, brought the reality of conversion to this simple test: that before being received, the convert should first learn a trade in a technical school, so as to be in a position to maintain himself."

I could give many often striking illustrations from my own experience, to show that English missionary methods—if they can be

* *Greater Britain Messenger*: July and August, 1899.

called methods—are often the most superficial. The natives often simply change their dress: they copy their English models in everything—which means that they conduct themselves in an absurd manner; and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at that many Kaffirs have become useless members of society by having lived on mission stations, or been educated in mission schools, where they have learned to lead an idle life at the expense of Christians;* while the *plakkers-wet*†, which has been so much attacked, had at least the advantage of making it necessary for the Kaffirs to earn an honest living.

The Boers, and by far the greater number of Europeans, prefer to have a “raw” Kaffir in their service rather than an “instructed” one, for the latter is often so proud and so spoiled that he will not condescend to do any work at all, much less hard work. And since the British only strive to Anglicise everyone and everything, and have made not the slightest effort in any measure to understand the Boers, who have sprung from the same Teutonic stock as themselves, how can they in regard to these matters take account of the golden rule for missions, that the work should be ordered by the field, that account must be taken of the languages, the climate, the character of each people, their political and social conditions, their degree of civilisation, their moral and religious conceptions—how can they understand that as Christianity does not destroy personal individuality, but hallows it, so there can be no question of levelling down the individuality of nations; that each people has its necessary place, and its work assigned by God; that every people must retain its distinct national characteristics, and that, therefore, we must train up Christian Chinese, Christian Hindoos, Christian Kaffirs, Christian Batakkers,‡ and not make Englishmen, or Germans, or Dutchmen of the natives, for that results in contempt for God, the Creator, who has given such rich and varied gifts to each race, that every one, according to His purpose, must remain

* Dr. Merenski tells us of mission fields which are “culpably neglected” by the London Missionary Society; and adds: “Of the difficult work of learning the African dialects, of founding, of building up and directing communities, neither the Company nor the missionaries have the right idea.” Of the Anglicans in Natal and Zululand, he says: “They are wanting in knowledge of the languages, and in general, in knowledge of the natives. Their work is certainly superficial.” Among the Wesleyans, whom he blames for not shrinking from working in the fields of other missionaries, he finds want of wisdom in their work, want of discipline in their communities, and superficiality in the instruction given in their schools. They are also very hasty in baptising the heathen.—*Algernon Missionary, 1901*; p. 433-444. Such information concerning English missionary work may also be found elsewhere. So B. ten Kate, “The War in South Africa and Missionary Work.”

† This law, passed by the Transvaal Government, ordained that in country places, not more than five families of natives should live on any private estate; and in villages no natives should live on private property unless they were employed by the owner or occupier of the land. The object of the law was to prevent the Kaffirs from collecting together in such numbers that they exercised an injurious influence on one another, and on the whole neighbourhood, and constituted a danger not only to the families living near, but to society in general. The desire of the Transvaal Government was to disperse the Kaffirs as much as possible among the whites, and make it needful for them to earn their living.

‡ Natives of a district in Sumatra.

as it is in order to develop all that God has implanted in it as a germ. So, in this respect, too, the Boers are in the right. Wisdom is justified of her children.

And now, as to equality of position. Here, too, the despised and insulted Boers have seen wonderfully clearly. With us, also, a like pressing question has arisen in relation to the Dutch Indies.

The editor of the Netherlands *Zendingsbode* has devoted an article to the "Equalising of Native Christians with Europeans," and declares himself strongly against it, as "occasioning danger to the Christian native himself, to the spread of Christianity, and to the Dutch rule in the Indies."

Again, I must remind you of the excellent address of Dr. J. W. Gunning, given at the last missionary conference but one, in which he maintained that the demand for equality is so serious a one, because, notwithstanding his conversion to Christianity, the native still retains the characteristics of his race. The writer proceeds:—

"The Gospel does, indeed, create a bond of unity and brotherhood among all peoples, but does not remove national differences. To carry out the idea of equality in the Indies would be to ruin the work not only of civilisation, but also, which would be worse, of evangelisation."

And I do not doubt that the talented Director of the Netherlands Missionary Society will be not a little strengthened in this connection by his visit to the East Indies. The tree is known by its fruits, and these fruits have to be examined: questions of such deep significance must be studied on the spot, if we are really to understand what is involved. One who has stayed even for a few months in a half-heathen, half-Christian community, and has used his eyes well, soon perceives that equality between white and coloured people is fatal to both, because it generally becomes equality in all kinds of evil; that very many so-called Christians sink below the level of heathenism, and the poor natives, by their contact with "civilisation" have often gained nothing but the diseases and vices of the "civilised."

A proof of this assertion may be found in the more than shameful treatment which the natives for the most part undergo in the compounds of Johannesburg and Kimberley. Indeed, it is not to be wondered at, that in a community where white people rival one another in thirst for gold, in the passion for gambling, in drunkenness and vice, the Kaffirs suffer incalculable injury for time and for eternity. There is profound truth in what an inspector of mines said to a missionary who had come to look after some Kaffirs from his station, then working in the mines:—"Sir, you bring them to us like angels, and we make devils of them."

I do not hesitate for a moment to choose in preference the system followed by the Boers.

I have now made it sufficiently clear that the statement that the Boers are cruel to the Kaffirs and hostile to mission work is far from being well-founded.

Our judgment will be still more favourable if we consider the extensive work of foreign missionary associations in South Africa. For convenience sake I follow Warneck's excellent "Abriss," instead of continually citing the special literature on the subject, which would be wearisome and unsuitable to a simple sketch like the present one. Those who desire to pursue the subject further may consult the notes in Warneck's work, and Appendix A in Bliss's "Missionary Encyclopædia."

In the whole of South Africa there are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of coloured people. Of these probably 560,000 are Christians, and are under the care of thirty different missionary associations: English, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and American.

The most important centre of missionary work in South Africa is Cape Colony: the coloured population of which, with its dependencies (British Kaffraria, Griqualand East and West, Transkei, Tembu, and Bomvanaland), according to the census of 1891, is in round numbers 1,150,000, of whom 392,000 are Christians. This number has, of course, increased by this time to much over 400,000.

The Moravian Brethren, whose work began in 1737, and was firmly established by 1792, have now nine stations in the South-Western part of the Colony, with 10,000 converts. At a long distance from this Western district, they have also ten centres, in the East, with more than 5,000 converts, on the Kei river, and scattered throughout Kaffraria.

The work of the London Missionary Society, founded in 1799, has led to the formation of a Congregational Union in Cape Colony, with 50 congregations, containing 10,000 communicants and 35,000 adherents.

The Wesleyans (1814) have nine churches in the West, with 6,000 converts. Their work in the East is divided into three districts, with about seventy churches, and over 90,000 converts.

The Rhenish Association (1829) has ten considerable self-supporting Christian communities, with 15,000 converts.

The Berlin Association (Berlin I), whose first missionaries landed in South Africa in 1834, has worked since 1838 in Cape Colony itself, and has there twelve stations, forming two Synods, that of Cape Colony in the West, and that of Kaffraria in the East, having together 6,800 converts. The stations at Kimberley and Pniel are not included here, as they belong to the Synod of the Orange Free State.

Of the ten dioceses of the Anglican Church in South Africa, there are three in Cape Colony: Cape Town, Grahamstown, and St. John's (Kaffraria). All the South African bishoprics stand in close connection with the S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts). As we have no information as to how far the work of this association is Church work proper, and how far it is mission work, it is difficult to estimate the number of coloured people belonging to these three bishoprics: perhaps 30,000 to 40,000. In South Africa, as elsewhere, the High Church party often cause much trouble to other missionary workers.*

* J. E. Carlyle, "South Africa and its Mission Fields."

Besides the above-named missionary associations, there are two others at work in the Eastern districts of Cape Colony: the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterians. The Free Church has a Mission to the Kaffirs on the North, and another on the South of the river Kei, with ten principal and several subordinate stations, where there are 9,500 converts, and over 7,000 more receiving instruction. I need only name the celebrated institutions at Lovedale and Blythwood, to confirm the impression that the old Scotch thoroughness does not fail to manifest itself in South Africa. The United Presbyterians have also stations on both sides of the Kei river: their work showing great solidity. The number of principal settlements is thirteen, with more than a hundred outposts. One of their stations is Emgwali where, from 1857-1871, the well-known Tiyo Soga* laboured.

We now pass to Natal and Zululand, where we find the American Board, with ten principal stations, 2,000 communicants, and 9,000 adherents; the Wesleyans, with eighteen stations, 5,500 communicants, and 13,000 adherents; the Norwegian and Swedish missions, with, together, seventeen stations, and nearly 2,000 converts; the Berlin Association, with six stations, and 2,100 church members; the Hermannsburgers, with twenty-two stations and 4,000 church members; the Anglican Church, with perhaps 4,000 to 5,000 Christians; the Free Church of Scotland, with two stations, and more than 2,000 Christians.

I pass over the work in Swaziland, only just beginning, and come to a mission which has been much blessed from the first: that of the "*Eglises libres de la Suisse romande*," on Delagoa Bay, and in the North of the South African Republic (at Spelonken, principal station Valdezia), with 1,600 converts all told. These brave Swiss missionaries remind us of the splendid work done by the lonely and self-sacrificing workers of the Paris Association, who have achieved wonderful results, having now fourteen principal and a hundred and fifty subordinate stations, with 10,000 communicants, 4,000 persons under instruction, 140 schools, and more than 7,000 pupils; while the Basuto Church has in its turn become a self-supporting missionary centre, and under the direction of the heroic Caillard, has already created five mission stations on the Zambezi.

West and North-West from Basutoland, lie the two Boer Republics, whose wrestle for life we are now following with sorrowful interest. Now, in the Orange Free State, there are ten Wesleyan stations, with about 15,000 adherents; the Anglican Church has a bishopric, that of Bloemfontein, with about 1,500 baptised Christians; and the Berlin Association has its Free State Synod, with eight stations and 5,600 baptised converts.

In the Transvaal, where Art. viii of the Constitution runs: "The people sanction the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen (*i.e.*, by missionaries, within the bounds of the Republic), with definite provisions against false teaching"—the chief missionary work is in the hands of the Hermannsburgers (from 1857) and the Berlin Associa-

* "Tiyo Soga, the First Kaffir Missionary," J. A. Chalmers. (Translated into Dutch by F. Lion Cachet.)

tion (from 1859). The Hermannsburgers were invited into the country by the Boers themselves, and have twenty-six stations in the three districts of Rustenburg, Marico, and Pretoria.

"*Sie alle zusammen repräsentiren einen Christenbestand von 36,000, der sich jetzt jährlich um tausende mehrt,*" wrote Warneck—before the war.

The Berlin Association has twenty-seven stations, with 17,000 converts, under its two Synods, those of North and South Transvaal. The Anglican Church has a diocese of Pretoria, offering little of interest. On the other hand, the English Wesleyans, so called to distinguish them from those of South Africa, have formed an independent Church since 1832, and carry on their work under the name of the Wesleyan South African Missionary Society. This work is divided into three sections, and covers the whole Republic. Their Churches have 36,000 attenders, and 6,000 members, of whom, without doubt, a very small number only are coloured people.

I must be permitted here to leave this subject, as it has been sufficiently proved that the labours of various foreign missionary associations in South Africa have had excellent results. Certainly, their task is not yet complete, "*aber das Christentum ist doch unter einer nicht geringen Anzahl von Stämmen bereits eine solche Macht geworden, dass in absehbarer Zeit sein Sieg ein allgemeiner sein wird*"* so prophesies our authority, who certainly knows what he is speaking of. Now every thinking man, who does not share English prejudices, must ask: How could missionary work in South Africa achieve such favourable results, if the Boers, who form 65 to 75 per cent., or three-fourths, of the white population, were so filled with hatred of all evangelistic work among the coloured population? What can be done by the Boers when they are united and of one mind, England has been discovering for months.

Therefore, if the Boers desired to oppose missions and missionaries in all possible ways, it would be in their power to do so. That they are not evil-disposed towards them, the splendid results which we have just been describing will indicate. It is true that here and there regrettable differences have arisen between missionaries and Boers. But these stand alone: and when serious historians like Theal examine into such incidents as that which took place in the case of Livingstone, the accusations against the Boers vanish like snow before the sun. In the English colonies, as in the Boer Republics, the Afrikaner element is in no way opposed to missions. Far from it. Up to the time of the terrible war of extermination which Christian England has undertaken against the Republics, missionary work was developing quietly and unhindered. More than this, the Boers and their despised Governments have promoted the success of missions in various ways. Fine pieces of land of great value have been gladly set apart, in the Republics, for religious purposes, various missionaries having undoubtedly shared in the benefit. And—as he himself assured me on

* ("But there is a not inconsiderable consensus of opinion that, considering the progress which Christianity has already made, it will have become established everywhere in a period within human sight.")

one occasion—Dr. Mansvelt, the Superintendent of Education in the Transvaal, whose assiduous labour and untiring energy were duly recognised at the Paris Exhibition—was considering a project by which the Government should subsidise well-organised missionary schools in which Dutch was the medium of instruction. It is, therefore, to be noted that English missionaries alone, and those who have become Anglicised, consider themselves to have had grounds of complaint against the Boers, while their evidence is completely neutralised by that of other missionaries working in the Boer Republics. It is much the same as with the complaints of the Uitlanders on the Rand, the poor innocents who were very much in the same position as the “prisoner” of the Vatican.

I take a few examples from authorities which I have consulted.

A Swedish missionary at Ekutuleni expresses the following opinion: “Missionary work in South Africa makes greater progress among the tribes who are subject to the Boers than anywhere else. They themselves are ardent supporters of missions.” From *De Gereformeerde Kerk* of February 28, 1900.)

The minister, Chr. Rimmel, who lived for a time among the Boers, says of them: “As for cruelty towards the coloured people, it may be true as regards individuals, but we have no right to condemn the whole people for that reason. The attitude of the Boer towards the Kaffir, is that of a man with a strong, determined will. It is hardly possible to form an idea of the low degree of civilisation represented by the natives in South Africa. To meet them on anything like an equal footing, or to hold familiar intercourse with them, would be to open the door to outrages and murders, as has often been proved in the Transvaal. The attitude of the Boers, firm, curt, and strict, proceeds not from cruelty, but from a wise caution.”—*Kerkel. Courant*, 17th March, 1900.

The German *Reichspost* writes of the Boers and Missions: “It remains a fact, that the Moravians have never had anything to complain of in their relations with the Boers. Can that be accidental? And if the Boers now (?) keep the natives down with an iron hand (?), we must in fairness remember that more than once the English have incited them to rise against the Boer settlers.”

The Roman Catholic priest, O. Harre, at Swellendam, Cape Colony, writes as follows: “I, as well as my servant, have always been treated in the most friendly manner by the Boers. Whenever I needed a room in which to celebrate mass with my people, I always found one allotted to me with the greatest willingness. In every Boer’s house a chapter from the Scriptures is read every evening, with singing and prayer: this not alone on Sundays, but every day alike. This is done whether there are guests present or not. Only when the host does not know of what religion the strange guest is, he asks him beforehand whether he would prefer to be shown to his bedroom. I have very often been asked to read the chapter from the Bible, and to offer prayer, which I was naturally always willing to do. On Sunday every family rides to church; and when the distances are too great, the neighbours within five to ten miles assemble at a farm

chosen beforehand, to hold public worship in common. But every family travels to church at least twice a year, however great the distance may be. The journey often lasts several days, so that the visitors to the church spend a week or longer in their waggons and tents. These visits are always connected with the celebration of the Communion. The Boers are Protestants and I am a Roman Catholic priest, but I speak of them just as I have found them. I wish, as I write, that I could communicate a little of their fine character to all those who despise and maliciously slander them; that would perhaps be doing such persons a good service." The editor of the *Heraut*,* (1st July, 1900), from which I take over the above letter word for word, states that many other testimonies might be added to this.

The editor of the *Zendingstijdschrift* (Missionary Magazine), 1st November, 1899, points to the fact that General Joubert has repeatedly expressed his views on the great importance of missionary work, as at the dedication of the fine Moravian Church at Bethany; on the return of the expedition against the cruel M'pefo; in his presidential address to a meeting of the Pretoria division of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where a word was spoken by most of the ministers in Pretoria, including the writer of the present address.

As for Oom Paul, who does not remember the account of his visit, in 1884, to the head-quarters of the Berlin Missionary Association? where, as Director Wangemann testifies, he felt himself so completely at home. If the President had felt no sympathy for the work of the Berlin missionaries in the Transvaal, he simply would have refrained from visiting the missionary house. He has been fortunately too little in touch with Western civilisation to affect an interest in persons and things where he felt none.†

In answer to a question put to him at the time of the Presidential election, President Kruger wrote on the subject of the natives:—

"My hope for the future is that by the blessing of God, the time will come when, through order, industry, and the fear of God, the Kaffirs, too, may become happy and peaceable subjects of the South African Republic."‡

And if you had been present when on Kruger's birthday, early in the morning, the pupils of the missionary schools in Pretoria came to sing hymns to him, and had heard what the venerable President said to them—if you had enjoyed with me the rare privilege of listening to the expression of his feeling with regard to missions, you would have recognised and honoured, not only his proverbial knowledge of the Bible, but still more his clear-sightedness, his warm heart, his strong religious feeling, full of earnest desire for the extension of the Kingdom of God! §

* A weekly religious paper, edited by Dr. A. Kuyper.

† See the article "Oom Paul in Berlin," in the *'s Gravenhaagsche Kerkbode*, 20th January, 1900.

‡ J. F. van Oordt (above), p. 385. (*Paul Kruger and the Rise of the South African Republic*.)

§ I am quite aware that this impression of Mr. Kruger is very different from that of many, even religious, people in England. But what opportunities have we had of judging, compared with those who lived on the spot, and were in touch with the President?—Translator.

The Boers and missionary work, then, are not sharply contrasted ideas, but are constantly improving their relations one with another. Were missionary work largely in English hands, we should find it set back for a generation. But, although the moral injury done by England to missions in South Africa can neither be set forth in words nor in figures, we can but thank God for his goodness when we remember that missionaries from a number of foreign associations are in the field, and that they possess the fullest confidence and the warmest sympathy of the Boers. And what especially fills us with hope is this: The sons and daughters of the Afrikaners themselves are developing a special energy in the work, and bid fair soon to outstrip the best of the foreign associations. I attribute this to an alteration of plan, which gives much reason for congratulation, the abandonment of the old system of working through special associations, so that now we have to consider the missionary work of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony, and that of the daughter churches in Natal and the two Boer Republics.

I have reserved a very hasty sketch of this work till last, as the best of all. And I must repeat with emphasis, that this mission work belongs entirely to the Church; or, as the above-named manifesto expresses it, "Our mission work is carried on by the Church, for the Church, through the Church."

Of the "Wetten en Bepalingen voor het Bestuur der Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika"* ("Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa"), Cape Town, 1894, the whole of the sixth section (pp. 84-94) treats of missionary work; and when reading the proceedings of the last (nineteenth)† meeting of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, held in Cape Town, October 14th, 1897, and following days, one feels with burning shame that the South African daughter gives the Dutch Mother Church a humbling example of obedience to the Word of God in relation to the missionary command.

The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa divides its mission work into two parts, namely, Home and Foreign Missions. "The Home Missions shall include work among professing Christians, who are backward, or deprived of religious privileges, as well as those within the limits of Christian communities who are unacquainted with Christianity." Thus runs Art. 198 of the Constitution of the Church. Such coloured people are here meant as live in towns and villages in the midst of whites—that is, those who speak Dutch, which they nearly all do.

The Foreign Mission aims at reaching heathen tribes outside the jurisdiction of the Church, or wherever they are living in heathen communities.

* The information previously given by me on this subject has been supplemented by the manifesto issued by the members of the Moderamen of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Professors of the Theological College at Stellenbosch.

† The Synod has been unable to meet since 1897, owing to the war.

A Foreign and a Home Mission Committee are appointed by the Synod for these two branches of mission work. The connecting link between the Churches and the members of the Missionary Committee is supplied by District Committees. ("Rings-Zendings-Commissien.")

The "Foreign" Mission work lies in the Transvaal, Mashonaland, Bechuanaland, and the Lake District in Central Africa; it has about thirty-five missionaries and missionary helpers, and a number of native evangelists, and is continually extending.

The "Home" Mission includes all that is done among Dutch speaking natives in Cape Colony. Thirty-five of these congregations (of coloured people) make up a Mission Church, which comprises a number of parishes. It has its own Synod and Church regulations, and manages its own affairs, subject to the control of the Home Mission Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church. Both are ordered according to the constitution of the Church of Cape Colony. Several mission congregations are as yet unorganised; and, therefore, for the time, have not the right to take part as recognised Churches in the annual assembly of the Mission Church, which is yearly growing in extent and importance. This is shown also in Warneck's often quoted work, in which the number of coloured people belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony is estimated as considerably over 25,000.

But the Mother Church makes very great efforts in order to render this double mission work possible. The Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony, which has 98,144 communicants, and 223,000 adherents (whites only) contributed £10,150 sterling for missions in 1899: that is more than two shillings per communicant, and about 11d. per head.

The number of missionaries supported by the Church in South Africa is about sixty, with an equal number of evangelists and lay-helpers. We must remember that this is done in Cape Colony alone, and does not include the work of the Churches in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal.

Neither are contributions included in this sum which are collected for local missionary work, that is, work done in and by individual Churches, mostly under the guidance of their minister; this work receives no support from the general fund. Thus, while they contribute to the general work of the Church, they carry on their own mission work as a congregation, and find the necessary means for this from their own Church collections. There are instances of communities which have collected more than £100 per annum with this object.

And if we add to this what members of the Dutch Reformed Church contribute in support of the work of foreign, that is, European and American missions, then a much higher figure will be reached.

As an indication of the extensive character of the mission work, it must further be mentioned that these official organisations are found insufficient, and that missionary associations of all kinds have been formed in and on behalf of the Church. Thus, in 1889, a Women's Missionary Association was founded, with the definite object of maintaining a number of lay teachers and native evangelists. The Theolo-

gical Students Missionary Union, in the same way, does much for the Training College for Evangelists in Natal. The Young Men's Christian Association in Cape Colony, again—about seventy members of which are in official connection with the Church—support, as an association, one native missionary. Further, a Children's Missionary Union gives not a little assistance to the work, while from the Society for Christian Endeavour, and from the Christian Students' Union (comprising students in all branches, not theological only), many have gone, led by an irresistible impulse, to the vast mission field of the Dark Continent; so that South Africa seems to be Divinely ordained to win Central and Northern Africa also for Jesus. During the last few years, more than one of the theological students in Stellenbosch, after passing his "proponents"* examination, has returned to his studies to prepare himself further for missionary work, though the Church has wisely provided in its constitution, that "one who devotes himself to mission work after having attained the status of candidate in theology, shall have equal rights and privileges with a minister."

What may serve as a special example to be followed by our Ministers' Missionary Union, is the fact that in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa there is an association of ministers, all members of which have undertaken to contribute something yearly from their own resources for the cause of Christ among the heathen; and that this association has founded the Nyassa Mission. One of my Afrikander brethren has given a very able description of this work, in his book, "*Nyasaland en mijne ondervindingen aldaar*" ("*Nyassaland and My Experiences There*").

Finally, it must be added that at Wellington in Cape Colony, there is a Training College for Missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, which would not be considered inferior to any of our training colleges at home, and where many a student has imbibed something of the

* Before the year 1795, certain congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland were united into circles called "Classis"; several Classis formed a Provincial Synod, and the Provincial Synods united to form the National Synod. Persons who offered themselves for the ministry were admitted to it after passing two different examinations, the examining body being the Classis to which they had presented themselves. After the first examination, the student was permitted, as Proponent (Candidate) to exercise the right of preaching at a public service, and might receive a call from a congregation in any place. When a call was actually received, the passing of the second examination admitted him to the full status of minister, competent to conduct Divine service in all its parts. The first examination was called preparatory, the second "peremptory," *i.e.*, complete. Thus, among other administrative powers, the Classis had the right to examine as above described. To have been examined by the Classis meant to have received the right, according to Church law, to conduct Divine service in any of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the mother country. There were also special Classis to grant similar powers for foreign countries.

After 1795 the conditions were different. But by "proponents-examen" is still meant the last (complete) examination, at the end of the whole course of study. The special reference above is to several cases at Stellenbosch, in which young men, after having become thus fully qualified to enter on the ministry, for which they had been so long preparing, went for a year or more to Edinburgh or elsewhere to go through a course of medical study, so far as is necessary for a missionary.

holy enthusiasm which we have all admired in one well known and beloved here, too, our brother Andrew Murray.

It is only to be expected that the example of the Mother Church in Cape Colony should have an inspiring influence over the Daughter Churches in Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. I must observe that Cape Colony is two hundred years older than the Boer Republics, and that these have continually had to defend their dearly-bought freedom with arms in their hands: it is, therefore, astonishing to find that in the midst of wars and rumours of wars, the members of the Reformed Churches could still think of missions. The Churches in Natal and in the Boer Republics have been quite independent since 1862. Naturally, the whole Church order is modelled on the Cape pattern, but suited to local circumstances; so that here, too, missionary work is in the hands of the Church.

In Natal, where, by the nature of things, the Dutch Reformed Church is not large (it consists of five congregations, with about 5,000 adherents), there is a local mission, extending to all places where there are Reformed congregations and ministers. The Church has a self-supporting mission among the natives in the district of Umvoti, and Dutch missionaries also work hand in hand with those of the Free Church of Scotland. There is, besides, a (Dutch) Training College for native evangelists in this colony.

In the Orange Free State, where the Dutch Reformed Church has thirty-six congregations, with about 34,000 members, and 80,000 adherents (whites), there is, again, locally supported mission work everywhere, carried on by the minister of the congregation, with native helpers. Besides this, there are three quite independent missionary communities, Witzieshoek, Ventersburg, and Bloemfontein, numbering together about 1,000 members and 6,000 adherents. Finally, the Church supports two missionaries in Central Africa.

The United Reformed Church in the South African Republic,* the official name of which is "Nederduitsche Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek," and which arose from the union of all the earlier Dutch Reformed Churches, numbers about forty congregations (whites), with, together, 31,000 Church members, and about 70,000 adherents. This Church, too, has a General Synodal Missionary Committee, with local branches. The written constitution of the Church contains the following on the subject of missions:—

"The Church esteems it her sacred duty to labour for the extension of the Kingdom of God by missions among the heathen. This missionary work is undertaken in obedience to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. xxviii, 19), and is equally the duty and the privilege of all who enjoy the blessings of the Gospel." "There shall be a Missionary Committee, the object of which shall be to awaken interest in missionary work, and to invite co-operation and pecuniary support from the Church." "It is most desirable that the Missionary Committees should be formed in union with the Church." "All

* To this Church belong Di Bosman, and Van Broekbruijzen, of Pretoria, Meijring, of Johannesburg, etc., men well known and esteemed in this country, as well as in South Africa.

Church Councils are earnestly recommended to ensure the sending of annual contributions to their Committee."

In connection with the above-mentioned United Reformed Church, five mission stations have been established: one at Pretoria, one at Middelburg, where the missionary works with the help of three Evangelists; one at Potchefstroom; one at Wakkerstroom, with eight Evangelists; and one at Vrijheid, with three Evangelists.

The Church at Vrijheid finds the whole of the annual sum necessary for the support of this missionary and his helpers, which is £178 sterling annually. Three Boers at this place provided a site and a dwelling-house for the use of an Evangelist of another missionary association, besides which, there were various farms, the owners or occupiers of which gave instruction to the natives.

The work in the district of Wakkerstroom has been greatly blessed. During a period of seven years, 800 Zulus were baptised there, many of whom were converted to Christianity through the teaching of Evangelists maintained by the Boers of the Missionary Committee at Utrecht, or elsewhere in the Transvaal.

Dr. Andrew Murray (from whose article in *The Christian*, reproduced in the *'s Gravenhaagsche Kerkbode*, of 24th November, 1900, I take these details), has himself a son* at work as a missionary among the natives in the Transvaal. For four or five years before his instalment as missionary, certain natives were receiving religious and secular instruction from an Evangelist, provided for by the Boers.

From the above-named article, I add the following additional details:—

Certain districts in the Transvaal are remarkable for a growing zeal for the spread of the Gospel. Wakkerstroom and Utrecht are centres of mission work, and the Boers, in co-operation with their ministers, strive earnestly to promote the success of the work.

The Foreign Mission department of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony, has various principal and branch stations in the Transvaal; its missionaries are esteemed and honoured by the Boers in their neighbourhood, the work of the Mother, as well as that of the Daughter Church, being held dear, and supported, by the adherents of the latter, too. A striking example of this was given by the United Dutch Church (Transvaal), which sent one of its most distinguished young ministers, Rev. P. Stofberg, to succeed the much-lamented Willy Neethling in his post at Mochudi (Bechuanaland). When the minister made this sacrifice, his old congregation, consisting exclusively of Boers, volunteered to pay his salary as a missionary.†

I may be permitted further to mention, as deserving special attention, two missionary stations of the Dutch Reformed Church. The

* Those who have followed the course of events during the last year will remember with sorrow that the work of Mr. Murray has been stopped, along with that of other labourers in the mission-field.—Translator.

† This brother Stofberg was driven from his post with three ladies of the mission, because he had dissuaded Linchwe, the Kaffir chief, from assisting the English. When Mochudi was deprived of its spiritual leader, Linchwe's Kaffirs were forced by the English to do them all kinds of services.

first is at Saul's Poort, on the Magaliesberg, about 40 English miles from the village of Rustenberg, in a north-westerly direction. Here, since 1862, a missionary of Swiss birth, Rev. H. Gonin,[†] has laboured with much blessing. Even after the death of his gifted wife, this veteran has remained faithfully at his post, where he continues a shining light of the missionary work of the Reformed Church, and a blessing to thousands.

The second is the Zoutpansberg Mission, in the extreme North of the South African Republic. In 1862, the station of Goedgedacht was established by a missionary of the Reformed Church named Mackidd. After the death of his wife, this brother himself died in 1865, and was followed by Mr. Stefanus Hofmeijr, who has been the means of inestimable blessing to coloured and white alike. This remarkable man has the fullest right to be called the Apostle of Zoutpansberg. It is not only what he has done in preaching the Gospel among the scattered members of the Dutch Reformed Church, nor that he was offered a seat in the Synod of the United Church, but he has also worked among the Kaffirs with great blessing. Owing to the number of his converts, a part have been placed under the guidance of his son-in-law, Rev. Daneel, who has fourteen principal and minor stations under his care, with as many evangelists; while the other part, also numbering about 25,000, are cared for by Brother Stéfanus Hofmeijr, and Rev. S. P. Helm, with a large number of evangelists under them. Those who wish to read a very interesting and most instructive book, should procure the work of Brother Stéfanus Hofmeijr, entitled "Twenty Years in Zoutpansberg."

Here I end my sketch. Those who, after reading what has here been hastily put together, can still maintain that the Boers are the enemies of mission work, must answer for it to God, who loves truth in the inward parts, and whose holy anger burns against slanderers. As for me, my heart is still touched with the thought of what I have been permitted personally to see of the excellent work of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa. I have taken part in missionary prayer meetings at Stellenbosch and at Wellington. I have twice had the privilege of speaking at a missionary festival* in South Africa, once at Stellenbosch, and once at Worcester; and I have perceived throughout South Africa a growing conviction of a call to the extension of the Kingdom of God, and a sacred enthusiasm for the work.

That work is the duty of the Afrikaners: it is also their privilege. It is fitting that they should have the conduct of it. They are accustomed to the climate; they know the various native tribes; they have often, as children, learned several Kaffir dialects as an amusement. *They have great natural gifts, and great spiritual pri-*

[†] Rev. H. Gonin married, as his second wife, a daughter of Rev. Mr. Neethling, of Stellenbosch, the missionary patriarch of Cape Colony.

* These missionary festivals are characteristic Dutch institutions; they are out-of-door gatherings, generally held on some large estate, the owner of which is interested in mission work. Besides active sympathisers, the public are invited, especially the young. Rustic pulpits are improvised, at convenient distances, from which addresses are given, prayer and hymn singing being also a part of the proceedings.—Translator.

vileges. Their sober, phlegmatic nature preserves them from being over-sanguine, and guides them into right methods, as is clearly shown in all missionary stations where Afrikanders are at work. You feel immediately; yes, that is what Africa needs; that is the right view of things, which must succeed, and does succeed! And this, too, is a matter of no slight importance; that the control of missionary work, and oversight of the missionaries, is not merely nominal, and carried on at thousands of miles distance from the mission field, by persons who, as a rule, have never set foot in Africa; but is in the hands of men "full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost," and of a Church which has its branches all over South Africa. And while the cost of foreign missions is for the most part fabulous, the Dutch Reformed Church can do at least three times as much with the same money; for instance, with the travelling expenses alone, which are necessarily incurred by foreign associations in conveying their missionaries to the scene of their labours, and in sending home invalided workers, in each case perhaps with wives and families, the Afrikanders can maintain many missionaries, since all is managed in the best and most economical way.

Besides these considerations, there is another: that while, even in the opinion of Warneck, English is quite useless as a missionary language, the spoken language of the Boers is understood all over South Africa.

"Een ider nasie het syn Taal,
Ons praat, van Kaap tot in Transvaal,
Wat almal maklik kan verstaan,
Wat gaat die ander tale ons aan?
Ons praat, so's Pa en Ou-Papa
Die Landstaal van Suid-Afrika."*

The coloured people almost without exception, speak the Cape Dutch. Many German, English, and other missionaries learn this dialect, preach in that language, and print their liturgies in it. A missionary from German South-West Africa assured me that even there, recently arrived missionaries, who do not quickly acquire the Hottentot language, speak Dutch while they are learning the native dialect, and sometimes even later.

My heart bleeds at all the horrors and miseries of this war; and I can only sigh for the lamentable effects of it, even on mission work. My soul is deeply moved when I think of the guilt of Protestant England, and I pray God that He will bring that people to repentance.

Yet good will come out of all this evil, in God's own time.

The great discoverer, Bartholomew Diaz, who, in 1486, first set foot in South Africa, erected a cross there, as a sign that he took possession of the country in the name of his king. That was a prophetic act. South Africa, too, belongs to the crucified Christ, and is taken possession of by Him. The land that sat in darkness—the "Dark Continent"—the step-child among nations, shall see a great light!

* "Every nation has its speech;
We talk, from the Cape to the Transvaal,
What can everywhere be easily understood;
What are other languages to us?
We talk, like our fathers and grandfathers,
The language of South Africa."